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in general. Under what circumstances, it may be asked, was Spain driven from the stage of "the struggle for the heart of North America" between 1492 and 1600 (p. 183)? If she was indeed driven from the stage she managed to retain possession for a while of its west and south-east wings at least. To say of Louis XIV that "rather than trust the succession to the will of the Spanish king", he "entered into secret treaty with England and Holland for the partition of the Spanish king's dominions" (p. 184), and that after Charles II. had died, leaving his kingdom by will to the Duke of Anjou, Louis XIV. had not dared to hope for so much (p. 185), ignores that wily monarch's employment of Harcourt and Portocarrero as much as it reveals a lack of accurate knowledge about the partition treaties and their intricate story. No one at all familiar with the history of Spain could subscribe to such statements as "with the support of England and Portugal, the Austrian archduke contested with Philip V. for the Spanish crown. This aroused the Spanish people from their sleep. Three million Jews and Moors had been expelled and a blight was resting upon the seven millions who remained. There was no Spanish navy; Spanish commerce had died. . . . Spain could not submit to have an Austrian king imposed upon it by heretics" (p. 186). Dr. Avery could hardly have crowded a larger number of obvious mistakes into a few sentences if he had tried. Prussia became a kingdom in 1701, and not in 1713 (p. 187).

Outside of this chapter there are certain other points of difference between the author and the reviewer. To apply the term "pernicious activity" to the enforcement of the policy of the English government from 1660 onward in securing a more efficient control of the colonies is to prejudge the case. Just in what respect the colonial governor was "the manager of a commercial enterprise" (p. 208) is no more evident than that "The English revolution of 1688 proclaimed the right of subjects to dethrone a dynasty" (p. 217) is true. The value of the discussion of the British colonial policy, finally, would have been much enhanced if the statements had been more logically arranged, and if a goodly portion of the matter prematurely given in the second chapter of the second volume of the work could have been placed here in its proper connection.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

*The Writings of Benjamin Franklin.* Collected and edited with a Life and Introduction by ALBERT HENRY SMYTH. In ten volumes. (New York and London: The Macmillan Company. 1907. Pp. xxiii, 439; xi, 470; xii, 483; xii, 471; xii, 555; x, 477; xiii, 440; xiv, 651; xvi, 703; xxii, 633.)

UNTIL the appearance of Mr. Smyth's edition, two collections of Franklin's writings have been generally available. The ten-volume edition of Jared Sparks, published between 1836 and 1850, was in its day an historical undertaking of the first magnitude, and one for which

students of American history long needed to be grateful. Its faults, however, were those which later investigation has shown to characterize all of Sparks's editorial work, namely, the deliberate alteration of the text in the supposed interest of dignity and good form, and the suppression of passages which, it was thought, would be harsh or offensive to modern ears. Moreover, the topical classification of the material made the volumes difficult to consult, and there was an undue elaboration of introductions and notes. Until 1887-1889, however, when Mr. John Bigelow brought out his edition of Franklin's "complete" works, the Sparks collection remained the standard. Mr. Bigelow's edition, based upon a careful and thorough-going study of Franklin's papers, restored the text in most cases to its original form, substituted a chronological for a topical arrangement and added some six hundred pieces drawn principally from the Stevens Collection, then in the Department of State and now, with a few exceptions, in the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress. The high qualities of Mr. Bigelow's work, together with the comprehensive nature of his researches, gave to these ten volumes a seemingly definitive character, although their publication in a limited and costly edition was an unfortunate obstacle in the way of their general use.

The claim to definitiveness, however, which Mr. Bigelow's edition has long enjoyed, must now unquestionably be shared with this edition of Mr. Smyth. Editions of collected writings are always to be subjected to three tests: the completeness of the exhibit, the editorial method and workmanship, and the substantive value of the material—in this case the new material—presented. Mr. Smyth has certainly spared no effort to make his edition complete. His collection, he tells us, is "the result of a personal examination of all the extant documents thereunto appertaining in Europe and America" that were accessible; and the sources from which he has drawn show what a surprising volume of matter has become available since Mr. Bigelow's edition appeared. Among the more notable collections made use of are the more than eight hundred Franklin papers possessed by the University of Pennsylvania, first brought to light in 1903, and the imposing collection of thirteen thousand documents owned by the American Philosophical Society, and here for the first time painstakingly used. These, with the Stevens Collection, comprise most of the Franklin manuscripts known to have survived the ravages of neglect, ignorance and time; but numerous important papers are still dispersed in the Pennsylvania Historical Society, the British Museum, the Public Record Office, Lansdowne House, the Royal Society, the Foreign Office and other repositories at Paris, and the archives at Simancas and the Hague, besides university libraries and private collections in this country and abroad. Of the Franklin Papers in European archives, all are believed to be listed in B. F. Stevens's "Index to the American Documents in the Archives of Europe". Many letters, however, are lost, most notably

the correspondence of Franklin with Jonathan Shipley, bishop of St. Asaph's, Sir Edward Newenham, member of the Irish Parliament and Dr. Jan Ingenhousz, the Austrian physician and scientist. Of Franklin's voluminous correspondence with Lord Kames, Sir William Herschel, Maskelyne and other scientists, surprisingly little can now be found.

To industrious search for manuscript material Mr. Smyth has added a careful examination of printed sources, particularly newspapers. The result is a substantial increase of the Frankliniana hitherto available. According to Mr. Smyth, the edition before us comprises three hundred and eighty-five letters and forty articles not contained in either the Sparks or the Bigelow editions, and all of indubitable authenticity. Chief among these new items are the "Dogood Papers", Franklin's youthful contributions to *The New England Courant*; some characteristic essays from *The Pennsylvania Gazette*; most of the prefaces to *Poor Richard's Almanac*; a number of letters and articles relating to the Stamp Act, written to London newspapers in 1765 and 1766, together with a report of Pitt's speech of January 14, 1766, against the act; and a portion of the entertaining correspondence between Franklin and Madame Brillouin, not heretofore printed.

The omission of documents touches in part the simple question of fact, and in part the question of historical method. Mr. Smyth omits the Principles of Trade published in 1774, because written not by Franklin, but by George Whatley; On Government, written by John Webbe; and A True State of the Proceedings in the Parliament of Great Britain, the work of Arthur Lee. The Historical Review of Pennsylvania, commonly ascribed to Franklin and doubtless inspired by him, but the authorship of which was expressly disclaimed by Franklin in a letter to Hume, is also left out. The so-called Canada Pamphlet, on the other hand, the joint work of Franklin and Richard Jackson, is properly retained because of the editor's inability to discriminate the shares of the two authors. The numerous illustrations which the short paragraphs of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and the *Almanac* afford of Franklin's coarse humor and vulgarity have not been reproduced, and the letter to the Academy of Brussels is omitted for the same reason; though it must be admitted that this process of expurgation, while conducing to the safety of Mr. Smyth's pages for the unwary, shows but imperfectly the real Franklin that was. In the case of certain other writings of Franklin, the editor takes more debatable ground. For example, the prefaces to *Poor Richard's Almanac* which relate to the making of wine, the appearance of the planets and Middleton's account of life in the region of Hudson's Bay, are omitted from the series without explanation, although the editor takes special pride in the inclusion of the other prefaces as a valuable feature of his edition. A group of early essays on Public Men Self Denial, the Usefulness of Mathematics, True Happiness, On Discoveries, the Waste of Life,

the Causes of Earthquakes, the Drinker's Dictionary and a Case of Casuistry, is discarded because the essays "have been ascribed to Franklin on insufficient evidence, and are at any rate dull and trivial" A letter to Cadwallader Colden, containing a conjectural explanation of the longer time required by vessels in the westward than in the eastward Atlantic passage, is omitted because Franklin, having declared in 1786 that the theory was untenable, "desired that the letter should not be reprinted" The omission of the *Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity*, printed in 1726, is defined on the ground that "the work has no value, and it would be an injury and an offence to the memory of Franklin to republish it". The determination of authorship from such evidences as literary style or subject-matter is at best a delicate business, while an author's own opinion of the value of his work, or an editor's estimate of the permanent worth or present interest of authentic documents, assuredly ought not to control in the preparation of a "complete" edition. Doubtless the substantive loss in these instances is not great, but the decision of the editor cannot be approved.

For the rest, Mr. Smyth's editorial method shows intelligence and painstaking care. With the exception of the *Autobiography*, which has been reprinted from Mr. Bigelow's text, all the documents are transcribed from the originals, with faithful adherence to punctuation, capitalization and spelling; and the source from which each piece is drawn is indicated. More than two thousand errors in previous editions have, it is said, been corrected, and many letters hitherto designated as mutilated or incomplete are given in full. Where manuscripts were not available, the original printed texts appear to have been followed. It would have been a great convenience had an indication been given of the documents already printed by Sparks and Bigelow, since without such aid only a page-for-page comparison can show just what changes have been made or just what material is new. The documents are arranged in chronological order so far as possible. There is a wise paucity of notes, the annotations being restricted, for the most part, to a statement of the *locus* of the document and a brief indication of the circumstances or of the person addressed. The last volume contains a list of correspondents, over four hundred and fifty in number, and indexes of persons, places and subjects.

A biography of Franklin by the editor fills more than half of the tenth volume. As a careful and detailed record of Franklin's multifarious activities, it is a sort of digest of the content of the preceding volumes, and will have distinct value for reference purposes; but it will not supersede, save as it here and there corrects or amplifies, previous accounts of Franklin's career. A somewhat similar characterization must be made of the edition as a whole. The new material contained in these ten volumes does not add greatly to our knowledge of Franklin as a politician, a statesman or a diplomatist. The broad lines of his public career have long since been drawn, and Mr. Smyth's

additions cannot do more than fill in personal details, though they do this at many points. Scholars may well be grateful, however, that the imposing mass of Franklin's writings, ranging over a wider field of intellectual and social interests than that of any other American public man, is here presented with convincing accuracy and approximate completeness.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

*England and America, 1763 to 1783. The History of a Reaction.*

In two volumes. By MARY A. M. MARKS. (New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1907. Pp. xxiii, 664; viii, 665-1306.)

SINCE the volumes of Bancroft dealing with the subject, this is the bulkiest discussion of the Revolutionary period which has appeared; for the sixth volume of Winsor is largely bibliographic. Undoubtedly there is needed a scientific investigation of these two critical decades—an investigation based on the whole mass of rapidly accumulating source-materials—more detailed and comprehensive than the plan of recent publications has permitted. The book before us is not without merit; but it will scarcely be accepted by scholars as satisfying their needs. Because so generally the principles of scientific research and composition have been ignored, these two volumes comprising some 650,000 words—more than four times the space filled by the two corresponding numbers of the *American Nation*—have failed greatly to deepen or to clarify our knowledge.

In the first place, there is inadequate use of the available materials. The four pages of Bibliography of the More Important Works Consulted contain many of the best known British collections of memoirs, correspondence and Parliamentary papers; and often these have been studied with good results. In particular, the *Annual Register*, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Parliamentary History*, *Donne's Correspondence of George III. with Lord North*, the *Clinton-Cornwallis Correspondence*, and some of the contemporary newspapers have been diligently exploited. Other important sources, such as the *Grenville Papers* and the *Bedford Correspondence* are omitted; while sometimes, as in the case of Horace Walpole's *Memoirs of the Court of George III.*, the latest and best edition is not mentioned. The monographs of modern British scholars are almost wholly ignored; and but a limited acquaintance with the vast mass of pamphlet literature preserved in British libraries is disclosed.

More astonishing is the author's neglect of the American materials. She has indeed cited the *Massachusetts Colonial Records*, the *Collections* of the Massachusetts and the New York Historical Societies, Force's *Tracts and Archives*, Spark's *Diplomatic Correspondence*, the works of Jay, Paine, Hutchinson, Franklin and John Adams; but this virtually closes the list of American sources. No reference is made to the collected writings of Hamilton, Jefferson, Washington, Samuel Adams, or to those of less conspicuous men. She is oblivious of the ever-increasing